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Supremacy of Principle.

Does the possession of absolute power relieve any being from a responsibility to the great rules of morality—the eternal principles of right? Has God a moral right to do wrong? Does wrong become right because God does it? Are Right and Wrong but relative terms—mere conventionalisms? No! they are eternal, immutable principles, which can by no means be made convertible. Principles make gods; gods cannot make them. Right and Wrong are the same, though there were no God. They are fixed and immovable, incorporated into the very nature of things, indestructible, immortal, though a thousand gods were bankrupt!

We are, therefore, not to determine principles by gods, but gods by principles. God himself cannot sanctify a lie. A truth is revered without his sanction; falsehood is falsehood, though it consort with gods; truth is truth, though a devil speak it. God has no more right to do wrong than man has; nay, not so much. We are justified in holding dignity and power to a more rigid accountability than weakness and ignorance. Vice is pardonable in undeveloped men or in devils. In gods it is heinous, because we expect virtue from a being in proportion to its rank, development, and consequent capacity for virtue. Is God so selfish as to hold his creatures to a rigid accountability to laws to which he himself pays no attention? What then? He immediately becomes divested of an essential attribute of a true ideal. Selfishness and injustice are not changed by the high company they keep; or, if changed, take on a darker hue. If God be a god of selfishness and cruelty, these qualities are not sanctified thereby; we are not therefore to reverence them, nor the God who exhibits them. To ask it, is to commit a crime against morality. Suppose we establish the fact that the God who made the Universe and the millions of human beings, has

also created a hell of endless duration for them to agonize in. What then? Does monstrosity become sanctified, or does God become a monster! If this be virtue, how shall we designate vice? If this be a god, how shall we know a devil? Were Satan any less a devil for being christened God! Does all virtue reside in a name?

When will men learn that God is not to be reverenced because he is God, but because he is good? Surely the Devil were better than such a God as this! Far better that man had no God than such a one. In as far as annihilation is preferable to endless misery, so far is the God of the Atheist preferable to the Ghost of Orthodoxy.

We are to judge of gods as we should of men, by their mental and moral characteristics, independently of their rank and position. If God is all-wise, we are to honor him, for wisdom is honorable. If he be all-good, we are to love him, for goodness is lovely. But if he be what is popularly represented, we are to hate him, for tyranny is hell-born wherever it may be found!

-[C. M. Overton.

Bibles and Constitutions.

We shall never have peace and good neighborhood, till there is wisdom enough, and goodness enough, to makes Bibles and Constitutions that don't need priests and politicians to expound them; and then we shall be so wise that Bibles and Constitutions will be useless. It is time for the people to know that their rights are not derived from Bibles and Constitutions. That Bibles and Constitutions are only the necessities of ignorance—things to be changed—to be outgrown and diaplaced by better things. Bibles and Constitutions are war-makers, blood-shedders, punishers, enslavers, destroyers. It is for men and women to be peacemakers, emancipators and saviors.

-[Orson S. Murray.

 $C \circ \circ \neg I \circ$

Origi

A Great Man.

That man is great, and he alone, Who serves a greatness not his own, For neither praise nor pelf; Content to know, and be unknown, Whole in himself.

Strong is that man, he only strong, To whose well-ordered will belong, For service and delight, All powers that, in despite of wrong, Establish right.

And free he is, and only he, Who, from his tyrant passions free, By Fortune undismayed, Hath power upon himself to be By himself obeyed.

Time cannot take him by surprise; Fate cannot crush him; he shall rise Stronger from overthrow.

Who hath not bowed his honest head To base occasion, nor in dread Of Duty shunned her eye.

Nor feared to follow in th' offense Of false opinion, his own sense Of Justice, unsubdued; Nor shrunk from any consequence Of doing good.

The merely great are, all in all, No more than what the merely small Esteem them. Man's opinion Neither conferred nor can recall This man's dominion.

-[All the Year Round.

Spontaneous Organizations.

The time has at length arrived for the development of the social law among independent, individunlized, and self-supporting friends of the "good We have strenuously advocated time coming." the unconditional emancipation of the individual from all forms of authority. The white flag of freedom and peace floats from the standard of perfeet individualization. We have called all men to rally about this standard, and to accept it as the voice of freedom in its broadest, deepest, highest, grandest sense. The response has been more universal than the most hopeful of ten years ago could believe. Thousands on thousands, even in this City, are in sympathy with this movement. They yearn for emancipation from the bondage of priesterast and sectarianism. The silent, yet powerful inspirations of the Better Day have awakened the sleep-

the bed of popularity turns uneasily and groans in the robes of power, with the feeling that he is not all he might be to humanity in the world about him. Reason is being inspired. Men think more. broader, better. The unlettered girl is moved by an inspiration, and the "learned" turn to listen. Words of graceful wisdom float out from the mouths of ignorant youths. Grand and profitable are the lessons that flow from these new springs on the hillsides of every-day life. Streams of richest thought pour through the valleys of ignorance. Augels are found in the roughest organizations. Sages are discovered among fishermen, and ministers of eternal truth come from mechanics and tradesmen.

The first lesson is Individuality. It may take on the symptoms of self-esteem, conceit, egotism. Friends may dread the undisguised manifestations of self-importance and arrogance which the new lesson develops in the young, inexperienced, unbalanced mind. Still the lesson must be imparted and elaborated. The medium is susceptible to both worlds at the same moment. Hence he or she will exhibit light and darkness, inspiration and egotism, self-forgetfulness and individuality, religious aspiration and the conceit of personal importance; and thus it happens that Spiritualists and friends of the Better Day have as much, if not more, labor and trial to meet in their own ranks, as from the opposition of bitter and unjust sectarians.

And all because the lesson of self-sovereignty. of individuality, of emancipation from all authority, had to be received and sounded to its depths. All the benefits and penalties of individualism must be imparted to every reformer. The effect has been, is, and will continue to be as we have describeda trial internally to the friends and supporters of progressive principles.

But now dawns a new hour to "try men's souls." The edict of organization, of co-operation, of mutual exertion, has gone forth. Our best brothers and our noblest sisters respond to the summons. They all acknowledge the need, and the great majority say "amen" to the prayer for integral unity and organic harmony.

And we are among the number. Systematic efforts are congenial to our feelings and harmonize with our every aspiration. We only aim our opposition at leadership. The discipline of an ecclesiastical tribunal we unspeakably detest. Bishops, prelates, priests-let them not appear in the Better Day! The sun of individual independence is now shining in a cloudless sky. Let no man dare darken its golden beams, nor bend its rays to gratify his lust for power among men. It has been tried in our ranks, but the Truth has sent the adveners in the temples of creeds; and the sluggard on turers headlong to the base of the movement.

There they are—angry, disappointed, proclaiming civil, assaulting the less ambitious, and endeavoring, in their despair, to set the religious world in deadly opposition to the New Dispensation.

Christ's teachings to know and understand them have a point of the less ambitious, and endeavoring, which all pretend to be, "in accordance with opposition to the New Dispensation.

Their efforts are all in vain. The grand gospel of spiritual truth is spreading like the wings of Heaven over the earth's inhabitants. The few ambitious ones who have sought the pinnacle of leadership in our ranks have found themselves defeated by the very Truth they wished to control. Thus, in the Spiritual movement, it will ever be—no leader, no master, no power, outside of Nature, Reason and Intuition.

We feel to endorse the present efforts at organization, because they do not contemplate a creed, neither a form of chieftanism, but merely and simply a more efficient method of friendship, sympathy and exertion. Let the local movements go forward. Institute business corporations for the furtherance of the work of perfect individual enlightenment and freedom.—[Herald of Progress.

From the Investigator. Jesus Christ.

Ma. Editor:—In reading your notice of a "Reform Paper," in the Investigator, I was puzzledas I always am in such a case-how a really liberal man, as the Editor of the New Republic undoubtcally seems to be, can honestly say of his paper, "Jesus Christ will be its standard in morals." What do we know of Jesus Christ that is reliable beyond doubt and contradiction? Even if we may not question, as many do, whether such a person ever existed, we certainly do not know enough of him to enable us to form a true estimate as to Lis character. For whoever reads the New Testament -in which alone we may learn something of his life and teachings-with impartiality and without prejudice, must be aware that this book is as full of contradictions relative to his morals and teachings, as it is in respect to his life and acts. They are, indeed, so numerous and pulpable, that I need not prove them by quotations. How then can any man who has learned to use his own reason and judgment, to think of, and not to believe blindly the fables taught him in his youth, or who makes it not his business to blind and deceive others,pretend that Jesus Christ is his "standard in morals," and mean what he says.

It is true, it is maintained by the defenders of Christianity, that the existence of that religion, and the great number of its adherents, were in itself a proof of its divinity and its teachings. But is not rather the great number and variance of the Christian religions proof patent that even the New Testament itself does not acquaint us enough with

Christ's teachings to know and understand them beyond doubt and dispute. Are not all Christian religious, which all pretend to be, "in accordance with Christ's teachings," so inharmonious and contrationary that instead of being a testimony for Christ and his teachings, they rather prove the correctness of a celebrated German author's (J. G. Scune's) remark—"If Jesus Christ should return to us to day, he would be obliged to go to some university in order to learn and to understand the religion be taught."

When, however, I hear Christians, or these who at least pretend to believe in and profess Christianity, talk in the style of the Editor of the New Ra-Public, of Jesus Christ, his life and teachings, his religion and morals, I do not wonder at it, because I think they have been trained in that way, and either actually believe all that they have been taught, or dare not doubt even what they cannot believe. But when I hear enlightened, liberal men speak in that way, then I am puzzled-and don't know whether I shall take them also as still under the ban of their carlier education and religious training, or as hypocrites. The former seems not to be their case now any more, and the latter I am loth to charge them with, as they seem not to deserve it when we judge them in general, and by some other words and acts of theirs.

But that is just what I would argue against, that so many of our Liberals speak in a manner of Jesus Christ, his religion, teachings, and morals, as if they actually believed in him and them, or could prove true what they thus speak of. It may be well enough for ignorant, deladed Christians to speak of Jesus Christ as the Son of God and Savior of men, or of his religion and morals as heavenly and sublime; but I should think it quite unbecoming for a Liberal, for a man who uses his reason and judgment without bias and prejudice-and the least of all, for an Editor of a "Reform Paper" to do so. He may as well call Mahomet a prophet, Joe Smith and Brigham Young inspired by the Lord, the Koran and Mormon Bible the Word of God, as Jesus Christ the Son of God, his religion a Divine Revelation, and his morals the highest perfection. There is just as much sense in, and as much reason for, the one as the other. Why then will sensible men speak thus the language of the unthinking, the blinded by prejudices, and help crafty priests in falsifying history, and deceiving mankind, instead of speaking as true, honest, and liberal men, according to their own judgment, and not the prejudices of others, call things by their right names, and give "praise and glory" to whom and where they are due! Yours for a thorough reform,

MOBRIS EINSTEIN.

Titusville, Pa.

Government and Education of the Young.

Nature, properly understood, is the grandest teacher the world has ever had. The voice of Nature is to me the voice of God. Nature teaches me that no two individuals, no two children, are constituted just alike, and consequently, the same mode of treatment, of education, will not produce the same results in any two. Happiness, I believe is the legitimate end of all human existence, and whatever education has a tendency to mar happiness in the long run, or to produce more misery than happiness, is false: hence, all unnecessary fear for the future, all views of God which excite fear and repulsion, rather than love and trust, must be obnoxious wherever taught. Hence in the education of my children, I would not so much as mention hell, or the devil, nor speak of the anger of God, or hint that the fear of the Lord was the beginning of wisdom. Neither would I tell them that the human heart was deceitful above all things and desperately wicked. Nor would I tell them that "Christ died to save sinners," and that they must "come to Jesus"—that they must be washed in his blood before they can be made fit for heaven; nor would I impress their minds in any way with the idea that they must be born again, as the church custom is, before they are hardly sensible of a first birth. Neither would I dare to tell them that the Bible was God's holy book, or allow them to read that history of human frailties, that bundle of inconsistencies, mysteries, prophecies, visions, fables and fancies, till their judgments were sufficiently expanded to sift the wheat from the chaff, to take the good and cast the bad away. I would never oblige my children, unless I wished to punish them, to dress up in tight shoes, tight clothes, with bare arms, bare shoulders and bare lungs; to go to church, sit prim, and look at and listen to some long-faced, solemn-toned, damnation preacher, who prays long and loud for God to come and make the place "awful" with his presence, and tells him he must send some dart from his almighty quiver to pierce the hearts of these young sinners, that they may know that there is a God in Israel, and that they are without God and without hope in the world, exposed to all the wilds of the adversary-"the world, the flesh and the devil;" that they may "consider their latter end" before it is everlastingly too late, and "turn in with the overtures of mercy" and become, what? joyful, happy followers of the good and the true! nay, become a long-faced, soberminded saint, and then "come out from the world," to be the especial favorites of that tyrannical, unlovely God, who is angry with the wicked every day, gather strength to be virtuous. and who will cast into hell all nations that forget

him. No. no. I would never oblige them to do that. I would never sully the pure name of virtue by associating it with the name of any such unnatural representatives.

I have stated some of the things I would not do. I will state now some of the things I would do. In the first place I would teach them to love and respect their parents by loving and respecting them in return. I would answer all their childish questions in a straight-forward, common-sense manner, and always be ready to reason the case with them, however trifling the subject, always remembering that little things are to children what great things are to adults. I would never, if I could command myself, allow one single prevish, fretful or impatient expression to escape my lips, lest they might catch the spirit. I would make them aware of their own individuality, and the rights of that individuality, just as early in life as possible, and from their own stand-point and conceptions, teach them the rights of others, and the unloveliness of selfishness. I would teach them how to deny themselves of what was hurtful to their health and happiness, not by command but by reasons why; and if these arguments, with their love for me, were not sufficient to control them, I would let them sin, get the lesson of experience, which I would follow up with my counsel to the best of my wisdom and ability.

I would contrive to make all duties as agrecable as possible, by exciting their ambition to be good. I would not fail to notice and eulogize every effort of theirs to conquer vice and overcome the selfishness of animal self. I would not hide them away from the world, and contact even with the vicious. I would let them see and know the condition of such while they remained under the parental roof, that I might be able to fortify the weak places in their character, and prove them out and out before I sent them into the big world to navigate alone.

Did I wish to give them a lesson on temperance, I would go with them, aye, let them go alone, into the grog shop, and look at its inmates, smell the vile stuff which robs men of reason, hear the vile oath, and contemplate the image of God in the gutter.

If I wished to teach them a lesson of chastity, I would go with them, or tell them, after suitable counsel, to take a stroll through the "Five Points," and look at the poor creatures of lust, listen to their vile language, see their indecent movements, and observe their disease, rags and filth. I would even go with them into the museum of human diseases. the result of the prostitution of the highest and most sacred function of human nature, and let them

I would not hide my children from all tempta-

tion, but I would by counsel and love shield them would teach the young, and these are some of the in temptation. If it was necessary that Christ *hould be tempted, it is necessary that my children should be tempted. If it is "through great tribulation that ye are to enter the kingdom," then there is something to be met and overcome. So let my children begin while young, while a father's eye is upon them, to grow strong and sturdy in virtue. Better trip now and then and get some bruises, and thereby learn to be wary, than to start out with "coach and four," not knowing, from inexperience, how to rein the spirited team, restive from long imprisonment and fat living, liable in the frenzy of animal excitement to dash over the fatal precipice.

The haunts of vice in our large cities, it is a known fact, are recruited almost entirely from those negatively virtuous families of the country, untried and unarmed by contact with the great world and its arts, before they leave the fireside.

I would teach my children the relation of cause and effect in regard to all the laws of their being, as fast as I could, especially the laws of health. would show them the relation between physical and moral health. I would teach them the rules of diet sooner than the ten commandments. I would not confine them to the school room till they could talk properly at home; till they had got a sufficient stock of oral language by imitation to be able to understand the use of books, and the lessons they are required to learn. I would never put them into foreign languages at all, unless they were expecting to teach them, or to travel where they were spoken.

In all their literary or book education I would never have them forget the divinity of uses. would teach them that the end of all education was self-development and happiness, and the good of the world at large; and that no amount of literary knowledge could ever make up for want of good judgment, reason, common sense, and practical ability; that religion is the handmaid of love and justice, the legitmate action of all the powers of our being. I would teach them that to be true to themselves is to be true to God; that the bar of their own conscience is the only bar they will ever be arraigned before; that reason is the only true expounder of all things in heaven and earth. I would teach them to be humble enough to learn from all conditions of society and all classes of individuals, and yet too independent to wink at vice in fine clothing or in high places. I would teach them to be governed by principle rather than by policy; that a true character, a noble individuality, independent and trustworthy, is superior to "kingdoms and thrones," "principalities or powers."

This is somewhat of the manner in which I dorsed on all that is .- [Theodore Parker.

principles which I would inculcate.

Yours for the true education of children.

D. H. HAMILTON.

No Christian.

In our notice of the Boston Investigator, some weeks since, we expressed the opinion that it was a little behind the NEW REPUBLIC in not being a Christian journal. The Investigator responds as

We are no Christian, and do not relish the idea of seeming to be what we are not; yet we would not disparage Jesus, and whenever we speak of him, we endeavor to place him on his merits, as we would any other teacher, ancient or modern. But if we do not accept him as our absolute oracle, it is not on account of being "splenetic or rash," (or so it seems to us,) but because we are unable to perceive that he was the universal Reformer and friend of humanity that he is claimed to have been. That he was a superior religionist to those who preceded him, may be possible; but this is not liberal enough for us, inasmuch as it looks only to the salvation of a few. We want a system that will save ALL, not on account of "believing" this, that, or the other dogma of religion; but because they are human beings. If we differ from our brother in opinion, must we go to "hell," nolens volens? We submit that this is intolerant, vindictive, revengeful, cruel, for we cannot help being an Infidel; and pitching us into the "burning lake" would not straighten out our mind, admitting it is crooked. Now Jesus taught that salvation could not be had but by entertaining a belief-or, in other words, but by believing just as he did! Here are some of his teachings:-"Verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life;" "Except ve believe that I am he, ye shall perish in your sins;" "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned," &c., &c. We fail to perceive, in these teachings, "the all-saving principles" to which our Cleveland friend refers; and hence, even though the Investigator, in opposing them, may be "too negative and destructive to meet our friend's highest ideal," we cannot yet see wherein "it is a little behind the NEW RE-PUBLIC in not being a Christian journal"-though we must coufess that when all Christian journals become as kind and liberal as the New Republic, we shall think a great deal better of Christianity than we do now.

Everything is insured against ultimate shipwreek at the office of the Infinite God. His hand is en-

Is Mind a Material Principle !- Free Agency.

One writer in the New Republic says, "Until it is shown that the forces of Nature of themselves think, it may reasonably be defied that the same kind of laws govern matter as those by which mind regulates itself." Again he says, "Nature knows no origin—its beginning is in the supernatural."

Such is the language and honest convictions of one and a large class of minds. They claim for that power denominated mind, capabilities more exalted than can possibly appertain to anything material, and also run most subjects beyond their comprehension into, or trace them to, the supernatural,—and there let them repose, as it were, within the profound depths of incomprehensibility. They say, "God is the author and preserver of all things;" and perhaps with their next breath exclaim, "Man is a free agent"—making him to possess powers, or capabilities, independent of those of Deity. O, consistency, what a jewel!

Can "the forces of Nature of themselves think"? In other words, has matter the power of thought? Strange question, truly! Why, reader, is not matter, of itself, as dead, inert and powerless as anything dead can possibly be? What! mind, endowed with powers of volition and thought, capable of conception, reflection, emotion, &c., matter? How strange!

Yes, intelligent reader, mind is as truly a material something, as heat or light, electricity or magnetism, earth or rock, is. Its capabilities, to be sure, are, to a considerable extent, peculiar to itself alone. But how are we to become perfectly satisfied of its material character? Simply by the following test: Does it contain a single property, or attribute, similar or identical to any possessed by matter? Most certainly; and wherein?

The atoms composing the grosser forms of the material Universe, are known to be endowed with powers of strong affinity for each other; and the single fact that mind has a strong attachment or affinity for matter, is, to my understanding, proof positive of its material character; for if it were possible that an immaterial something can have an absolute existence, it would be impossible for it to possess the least affinity or relationship to matter. Every essential attribute, or property, it could have, would be totally unlike any possessed by material Nature; for its properties and affinities could not approximate to those of materiality, except to the same degree that immateriality approximates to the nature and constitution of matter. If an immaterial something possesses a single attribute, or propertial something possesses a single attribute, or prop-

erty, in common with matter, then it is no longer immateriality, but genuine matter. Therefore the mental principle, having a single property in common with matter, forever annihilates the idea of its being aught but a material element or principle of power.

The great stumbling-block, however, in the way of admitting the material character of mind, is its superior capabilities over every other known quality of matter. But it should be remembered that material substances differ very widely among themselves, in their constitutional power and relations; and therefore the laws regulating each kind, or class, of matter, must necessarily be proportionally different.

Heat and light, electricity and magnetism, though imponderable to human perception, nevertheless are admitted to be material; yet each is governed by laws peculiar to itself, and performs an office, or function, in the mighty architecture of Nature, that the others cannot. So with mind, or life; its character differs more or less widely from them, and, of course, the laws by which it regulates its manifestations, or actions, would differ from the laws pertaining to either light or heat, electricity or magnetism, or still grosser matter.

And again the question arises, "Has matter the power of thought?" Suppose we ask the question, in this connection, "Has matter the power of attraction?" Again, "Has it any capabilities of its own?" What foolish questions, truly, to be asked in this age of philosophy. Will any reader of the New Republic, bowever strong his faith in the supernatural, respond in the negative? I think not. And again I ask, "Does any one know the full extent of the capabilities of matter?" Certainly not.

The Universe abounds with attraction and motion; and are these the full extent of its capabilities? We have no reason to conclude so. If Nature is endowed with the powers of universal attraction and motion, may she not do more? Nay,—if she is capable of motion, may she not be capable of higher manifestations, even to the development and preservation of vegetable and animal forms? To me, it seems very reasonable. If so, then it is true that the "forces of Nature [do] think," in the organization of man.

Life abounds on every hand, as well as attraction and motion; and no one is justified in attributing the existence and phenomenon of one to the superpernatural, any more than the other.

Again, allowing the possibility of the existence of an immaterial something, (which I positively deny.) is it more highly probable that an immaterial something possesses a single attribute, or prop-

and regree to appears, and appearing or their Cause a contribute next by a near evidence whose comment these sees in employed a something his were popular ter? I think and.

Another mode of accument might be a to Stone or earth is genuine matter, because it very gross and inert that regarding possible is Insterial. Water, by its aidity to assume a or gascous state, the mobility of his remains its power to propel machinery. Labor Section is like earth or rock, besides regulated by have to liar to itself,-how is it possible to be a tassubstance? Heat and light, being a very size from any other known substance, in the walk the astonishing velocity of near 200,000 miles per an include as which pertain to his constitution. ond, giving animation and healthfulness to living !powerful, so much unlike water, earth or rest, -- merely, independent of all external relations to the the rate of 280,000 miles per second, the universal placing man under certain intellectual, moral and chemical agent of grosser Nature, a principle giving seeal, or other obligations to them; for a free agent motion to planets, comets, suns and systems, and implies that a person or thing is independent of animal beings,—can this, too, be a material some-Certainly. And magnetism, also, with still greater and more miraculous endowments? Certainly. Why, then, doubt the material character of mind, only because it possesses still higher capabilities, so long as we know not the full extent of power matter is capable of possessing?

But what is mind? I reply, it is the life, or vital principle of the brain-more particularly of the reflective portion. And what is life? It is simply the organic principle of vegetable and animal structures. Life develops roots, trunk, branches, buds, leaves, flowers, fruit; bone, nerve, muscle, brain, &c.; for if the life, or vital principle, develop either Lone or muscle, then it is but life—a higher quality of life-which constitutes the human or animal mind; for we well know that mental action developes the brain, upon the same principle that muscular action increases the vigor and size of the muscles.

Mind is therefore a principle of life; and the affinity of life to other and grosser forms of matterindeed, it is known only by its manifestations in grosser matter-is as truly evidence, and proof positive, of its material constitution, as we have of the material character of heat, light, electricity, or magnetism; for their respective natures are known only by their action upon grosser bodies.

The life pertaining to certain plants, and the lower forms of animal beings, resembles magnetism in at least one particular, namely, Polarity. Place a twig in the ground, and it will assume polarity to

on ser to roots and become a perfect tree. It the a dan be out as poles, each one will assume the postate of a perfect hydra. So with earth-worms vices es, in thees. This is true of a magnetwho have becomes a perfect magnet. Hence life new. It has a legher development of terrestrial wear test a coon as mind is the highest development steer smeller, or vital power.

the express of mind is therefore but a vital return are encoding and perfect the brain; and place the life include constitutes man's only misand the last relight implies that he must eat sad Jah Ladber and deep, acquire property, marry, the same site, I sak, feel, &c., &c., exercising all his artists in their proper way, and sustaining all those

But if man were a free agent, these duties would beings, and withal so subtile, imponderable and I not be needs any, because he would be a centerstance would it not be absurd to call them material great world of circumstances; for relations to other Electricity, still more potent and active, moving at | forms and things destroy human independence, by other agents or agencies, sustaining no relation to them whatever. Hence, this cannot be true of man; because he is intellectually, morally, socially and physically related in dependence upon his tellow creatures.

Human conceiousness, instead of teaching the absolute freedom of man, teaches rather his great dependence, as well as intellectual, moral, social and physical obligations; but by allowing the freedom of man, he would be under no obligation whatever to others. Hence it is well that man is not free; for then he would be isolated from all those living and potent intellectual, moral, social and physical influences of his fellow men, as great and beneficent circumstances to modify and clevate his character, as well as to expand his now feeble and limited capabilities to their highest degree of power and excellence. MALLOW.

I think I could turn and live with animals they are so placid and self-contained.

They do not sweat and whine about their condition,

They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins.

They do not make me sick discussing their duty to

No one is dissatisfied—not one is demented with the mania of owning things,

Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago.

-[Walt Whitman,

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

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The Future.

The hopes that have of late been entertained, of a speedy termination of the war, and a complete discomfiture of the rebels, from present prospects, seem not so likely to be realized. My own opinion from the first has been that the North, in the long run, must prove more than equal to her more prompt and active, yet less enduring and less able antagonist. There is no question but the North has the bravest and best soldiers, as well as the greatest numerical strength and pecuniary ability.

There are only two reasons for the uncertainty of the triumph of Northern arms. The first is the incompetency of Northern generals and managers. This incompetency has thus far rested like a fatal incubus upon the Union cause. But for this the rebels would long ago have been utterly routed and overthrown. The chief feature of this incompetency, is the tenderness felt for the sole cause of the war. and the leading element of Southern strength, and the only motive for its continuance—namely, Slavery. Northern leaders, though inferior in energy and strategic power to the Southern, are yet able, with the means in their hands, to speedily end the contest, were they not paralyzed by this terrible infatuation-this insane reverence for the monster that is deluging the Land in blood, and hurrying the Nation fast on to utter destruction.

This evil would, however, in time correct itself. Men at last find their level, and infatuation is succeeded by calm thought and sensible conclusions. The Nation will, in time, if events do not too soon and too greatly change, put the right men in the right place, and speedily end the war by removing its cause and support.

The other occasion of failure, if failure there is to be, will be the dissensions that quite possibly may arise among the people of the North. Of all the dark and uncertain prospect, this is the most ominous. A united North, in a just cause, is equal, on her own soil, to any force the world can bring against her; but, divided at home, her ruin is sure. England will not long wait, after being sure that our arms are not likely to be immediately successful, before interposing her power, and demanding a recognition of the Southern Confederacy as an independent

great, vital question of policy in relation to the Slavery question, will, with the drawbacks that already cripple her power and efficiency, be unable to carry her point, and against the combined forces of the rebels and their allies, re-establish the National authority.

Notwithstanding the awful consciousness of the Nation's terrible guilt, in perverting a Government professedly established to ensure justice and protect human rights, to the vile and infernal purposes which have engaged those who have exerted a controlling influence in its councils; and notwithstanding the conviction forces itself upon us, that terrible consequences are likely to result, as the natural outgrowth of this unholy action; yet we would fain pray that our beloved Country might be saved this fate; and fain do all in our power to avert the terrible calamity, by sustaining, with our strong arms, our means, our prayers and our counsel, those, however much we may criticize them, whom the people have placed at the head of affairs.

But with all our good wishes, and our best exertions, the problem of a final overthrow of our Government, as at present organized, and the action that must follow, forces itself home, and demands a solu-That the real and essential elements of our Union are to be dissolved I do not believe. I do believe that the so-called Union between the North and South is forever and irretrievably at an end, until the North shall establish justice and order within her own limits, and the South, after having run its course of riot that will surely end in the destruction of its present institutions, and the overthrow of its present leaders, shall, in a spirit of penitence and new-born love for freedom and right, knock for admission into a new and real Union. Arbitrary forms and unnatural bonds have proved utterly worthless to keep together elements at war with each other in their essential nature. That there are congenial elements sufficient, between the constituent parts of the Northern section of the old Union, to keep them together, even in the absence of governmental forms, I confidently believe. There is also, I believe, inherent virtue, integrity, wisdom, and love of order, in the heads and hearts of the people of the North, to develop the forms of a true government, which forms can at best be but an expression of the real and eternal principles that find appreciation in the hearts of honest and heroic men and women.

Forms of government are not essential. It matters little whether the present Constitution or the present Administration continue, so as the same essential results are secured. No disorderly movements should be countenanced, yet if dissolution and anarchy come, there is still hope, ave, certainty, that all the real virtue, and patriotism, and wisdom, and love of order, in the people, will at last find expression. People cannot long have a government essengovernment. France, at the first, will side with tially worse or better than themselves. The stream England. The North, divided as she will be on the cannot rise higher than its source. Governments are reflected from the people. Great prosperity had made our people selfish, and the claims of justice were forgotten. The Nation is now reaping the fruits of its own sowing. It has been "sowing the wind," and it is "reaping the whirlwind." Anarchy and destruction, more or less complete, are as certain as Fate and Eternal Justice. The Nation is going through the purifying fire. But only the dross can be consumed. All that is valuable in our Institutions, all the glorious principles our Fathers handed down, all the real freedom that has ever been ours, will be preserved. An intelligent, and just, and free people will never have trouble in developing whatever governmental arrangements their needs require. The result of this whole matter will be, that while there will yet be an apparently worse state of things than many now lock for, yet as a consequence we shall have such reconstruction, such demolition of old and corrupt institutions and usages, and such development and establishment of better ones, that our posterity, if not we ourselves in the near future, will look back upon this crisis as of all others the most glorious era in the Nation's history.

New Features.

While Slavery will be the occasion of the reconstruction in the Government, and while but for Slavery the Government would have continued indefinitely in its present shape, continuing to embody all its present essential features, yet now that Slavery is about to break up the old forms and arrangements. various new and important principles, and a radically different policy will be adopted, with reference to various interests, that, in the reconstruction, will come up for consideration.

Thus good always comes of evil. Slavery, in its efforts to override all else, is not only about to inflict its own death wound, but in its writhings and contortions will demolish various existing institutions and conservative features in our political and social arrangements.

The work of reconstruction once entered into, the work of building anew what Slavery will have destroyed, it will be occasion for ingrafting and embodying all of those principles which involve the freedom. rights and interests of all classes of society. Very important indeed, now, is it to thoroughly examine and discuss all of these principles, that we may be prepared, when the time for their more especial application arrives, to embody them, clearly, practically and positively. It will be the object, in future numbers of this Journal, to give these various questions thorough examination. There is room in this article to merely state a few of the propositions that it will seem advisable to urge.

A leading practical measure will be a new system of representation, through which the voice of the people may be heard, and their interests and wishes heeded in the halls of legislation.

ments, thorough, economical, corresponding to the demands of trade, and the interests of the people, under the control and management of those classes whose interests are especially involved, and removed entirely from the jurisdiction of thievish and incompetent Government officials and contractors.

A uniform and national system of currency; the entire abolition of the death penalty, and punishment of any sort except as protection to society; the abolition of all restrictions upon commerce; the reduction of governmental expenditures to the lowest possible point, abolishing entirely all considerable or burdensome taxes, and utterly routing the whole army of thieves and plunderers that riot on the hard earnings of the laboring masses, will be measures that will be demanded.

The broad and vital principle that just Governments are established solely for the purpose of maintaining inviolable the rights of Individuality, and that no laws or arrangements transcending this limit. or interfering with individual freedom, are at all binding or worthy of respect, will be earnestly urged and persistently maintained.

Printers' Rights.

This is an age of "Rights." But of all abused classes we think printers are the worst abused. Hardly any kind of labor is so exhausting as typesetting, even where the printer has good copy, and to add to his task the additional one of deciphering hieroglyphics and patching up horribly constructed sentences, is an outrage that we of the New Repub-LIC office have pledged each other not to submit to. Some of our Contributors send us the very best of copy-perfectly plain and correct-the only kind of manuscript that should ever be handed to a printer -and we intend to give these the preference. Copy, to be acceptable in this office, must be plainly and correctly written (and punctuated) with black ink, on one side of white paper. Those who cannot conform to these simple and essential rules can send their manuscript elsewhere. This is plain language, but it is time that all writers understood this matter, and we have no time to apologize, and no disposition to.

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The Protection of Society from Crime.

BY W. BYRD POWELL, M. D.

CHAPTER IV.

ALL LAWS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY SHOULD BE IN HARMONY WITH THE HUMAN SENTIMENTS, BECAUSE OTHERWISE THEY WILL NOT BE SUSTAINED AND RENDERED EFFECTIVE.

Such a code of laws as would be suggested by and be in harmony with the human sentiments, in that state of development which distinguishes civil society, would not be in unison with, nor applicable to man in his savage state; and on the contrary such a code of laws as obtains throughout the world, the legitimate offspring of our savage or animal faculties, cannot be so adapted to civil society as either to protect or advance it.

"It is a melancholy truth," says Blackstone, "that of the variety of actions which men are liable to commit, no less than a hundred and sixty have been declared by act of parliament, to be felonies without the benefit of clergy; or in other words, to be worthy of instant death. So dreadful a list, instead of diminishing, increases the number of offenders. The injured through compassion will often forbear to prosecute; juries through compassion will sometimes forget their oaths, and either acquit the guilty or mitigate the nature of the offense; and judges through compassion will respite one-half of the convicts and recommend them to the royal mercy."

This extract forces upon the mind two conclusions: first, that punishments do not diminish crimes; and second, society has very considerably advanced beyond the savage state, so that the laws have ceased to be in harmony with public sentiment; and as all known laws of the creator are approved of by the wise and good, it must be conceded that if our criminal laws were in harmony with the human sentiments they would be sustained and administered—we would not find juries forgetting their oaths, judges their duties, or the executive officers of the laws despised for the faithful discharge of theirs.

It may be argued that public sentiment is wounded at punishment only when it exceeds the crime. If any crime is to be adjudged worthy of death, it is murder; and yet public opinion holds the hangman to be degraded. If the infliction of death for murder were in harmony with the providence of the creator, the executioner would be esteemed equally with the bestower of alms, or the person who exercises any other laudable or godly function.

Within the past sixty-five years, society in this country could see a man whipped for horse-stealing; but is such the fact now? Those who thirst for vengeance, and insist upon having the "pound of flesh," look upon this change in society as an indication of a sickly degeneracy, when in truth it is a practical evidence of an improved condition of the human sentiments, of an advancing civilization—an evidence that society is reaching a point that must suggest to run up and participate in excite to angry words; nextite to angry wor

this question to every legislator and jurist: Shall society be retrograded to suit the spirit of the laws, or shall the laws be adapted to the human nature of man—purged of their savage character—humanized to suit the present state of civilization? Before I conclude, it will become evident that one or the other of the above measures will be inaugurated, and it requires no prophet to tell which it will be; the signs of the times indicate it.

A few analogies and facts will expose the utter fallacy of all attempts to protect society by any system or scheme of punishments. No one doubts that all our faculties are pleasureably excited by the presentation of their appropriate objects, and that their strength is increased in proportion to the frequency of their action. In confirmation of the soundness of this principle, it will be admitted that the more frequently religious exhibitions take place in society, the more the religious faculties become developed; music pleases the musical faculties, and frequent concerts increase their power; the social faculties are pleased with society, and in proportion to the frequency of their indulgence will they become stronger. The truth of this principle has been se thoroughly sustained by observation that no one will dispute it.

Now suppose it were desirable to abate the tendency of our people to trade and speculate, would legislators increase banking facilities and all other possible means of credit? Suppose costly and sumptuous dinners to threaten the general good, would legislators order the choicest condiments from all parts of the world? Suppose fighting to be mischievously common in society, would the remedy be pugilistic sports? Suppose bloodshed and murder to be so common as to threaten the destruction of society, would legislators think to abate the evil by the introduction of the Boman amphitheater with its bloody fights? If they would not, upon what consistent or defensible principle do they introduce capital punishment to prevent murder, piracy, burglary, treason, or any other offense that requires a destructive energy to execute? *

They may answer, I suppose, that the object is to excite fear, to serve as a preventive of such crimes. But have they yet to learn that those who fear penalties are not those who are criminally disposed, and hence the penalty is to a great extent inoperative as a preventive, but is highly effective as a provocative? Executions, tortures, &c., excite these to mischief and murder who are criminally capacitated. just as the fighting of two dogs induces other dogs to run up and participate in the fight; as angry words excite to angry words; mirth produces mirth; wit elicits wit; kindness, kindness; and blood, blood. But for the existence of this principle in human nature it would be impossible to explain the phenomena which have ever attended religious persecutions. The torture and destruction of one, brings to the flames half a dozen more. Sanguinary measures are

For the clinching of these conclusions, I will in- | place not remembered). That they were court-martroduce a few strikingly pertinent facts.

An English officer communicated to me the following fact: After the main attack on Cuidad Rodrigo had subsided, and detached parties were clearing some ramparts still occupied by the enemy, a gigantic Irish volunteer observed a gallant artilleryman lingering near his gun, and dashed at him with bayonet fixed; at the charge the man stepped backwardly, facing his foe, but his foot slipping, he fell against the bayonet and received it through his heart, giving a yell that startled the Irishman, who, as he drew back, apostrophizing his bayonet, was heard to say, "Holy Moses! how easy you went into him!" "As the first taste of blood rouses the latent fierceness of the tiger's whelp, so this event seems to have altered the Irishman's entire nature. From this time he could not resist the desire to shed blood, and he was finally executed for murder, confessing, before his death, that his only motive for the deed was a desire to see blood run."

In Wilcox Co., Alabama, a man named Parker was hanged for murder. When taken out of jail for execution, one of his neighbors attended him and talked to him about his approaching dissolution, and gave him such consolation as he deemed proper to the occasion. In a few hours after the execution, and in sight of the gallows, this neighbor committed murder.

In 1827 a man named Strickland was hung for murder in Little Rock, Ark. The brother of the marshal, Judge Scott, murdered his friend and neighbor within a few hours after witnessing the

In my travels in the South and South-West I was informed in several places, by good and intelligent citizens, that more violence and mischief were committed on the day of an execution than was remembered to have happened in the same community upon any other occasion, either before or since.

In 1842, while at Fort Smith, Ark., Capt. Gookin gave me the following facts: ,"In the Winter of 1814, two soldiers were arrested for desertion, courtmartialed, and condemned to be shot, at Fort Sumner, Portland, Me. They were accordingly brought out for execution, and while kneeling by the side of their coffins, their white caps drawn down over their faces, and the guard of soldiers ready and waiting the order to pour their charges of bullets and buckshot into their bodies, an officer on horseback sprang before the muzzles of the guns, saluted the officer of the day, and presented a sealed paper. It was a pardon. The men were released, and ordered to their duty. One of them again descried in two or three days, and in a few days more the other did the same."

In 1842, while on a visit to Cantonment Gibson, Cherokee Nation, the commandant, Liet.-Col. Mason, gave me the following bit of history: "Major-Gen. McComb told me that twelve deserting soldiers

tialed, and condemned to be shot. 'It was,' he said, 'very painful to my feelings to have so many men shot, and yet a proper regard for discipline was so imperative as to require that an example of the kind should be made. I resolved, however, to spare the six most likely and promising of them, and to have the sentence executed on the other six, which was accordingly done.' Before the close of the twentyfour hours in which this sentence was executed, several of those who composed the guard deserted! He added, 'this event has frequently caused me to reflect upon the inadequacy of executions to prevent desertion; but I have not been able to comprehend how it is that the execution of men in the presence of the army for desertion, should, instead of exciting fear, induce the very crime it was intended to prevent."

This fact is another illustration of the little that is generally known of human character. To all men but cowards, there is a charm in dangerous and hazardous enterprises; and but for this peculiarity in human nature, liberty could neither be achieved nor maintained. If Gen. McComb could have comprehended how it was that the slaughter of men in battle recruited a fresh army for battle, he could have comprehended how it was that the shooting of men for desertion, might cause either those who executed the sentence, or those who witnessed it, to

If deserting soldiers, instead of being shot, were required to perform menial duties for the army, and never allowed to shoulder a musket under the imputation of being unworthy of such a patriotic duty, there would be but little desertion; because there would not then be hazard enough in the enterprise to awaken a manly energy. To be precipitated from the dignity of a soldier to the degradation of a menial, would be much more intolerable than death to men accustomed to blood and carnage as soldiers

If normal poverty and suffering be placed before men, benevolence will be excited, to tears, or even to weeping; but if blood and carnage be presented. then a destructive irritability results, which upon the slightest occasion bursts forth into outrage and violence. It is thus that executions become the incentives to murder, and all lesser punishments to acts of proportional outrage and violence. When the time shall come that we can convert the lion into the lamb by the presentation of blood, then punishment may protect and advance society to order and civilization. As yet it is certain it has had no such effect, and the facts I have presented warrant the inference that it never can or will. Nevertheless, society should have protection, and I have not a doubt the Creator fully endowed the human mind with the elements of a system of policy that can procure for society both protection and happiness. In my next had been brought into the garrison (the time and chapter I will begin the development of such a policy.

The only valid reason that can be assigned for the in quickening them. Everything without that is failure of society to reach such development, is its beautiful, touches with pleasurable emotion some ignorance of anthropology.

By their magic influence

Most or all of the other sciences which are indispensable to the wants and comforts of society, have already become so developed as to have produced the most extraordinary results; most of the sciences above alluded to have become gray with age or development, but the science of anthropology is yet in its infancy; and until it becomes more developed, we must expect education and government to continue highly empirical. When I reflect upon the modus operandi of punishment, and the almost universal application of punishment in our families and schools, I am surprised that we have not many more criminals than we have. I have but one explanation of the fact that we have not, and it is this: very many were favored with a mental organization which enabled them to discover the errors of their juvenile discipline and the consequences of them, and were thus enabled to re-educate their affections, which has saved them from crime. Obedience to authority may result from punishment, but moral excellence never; hence I have no confidence in Devil-fearing Christians, nor have I any in punishment-fearing citizens. I would not keep a dog if his obedience resulted from fear.

Beauty-Worship.

There is a faculty within us that answers to everything of beauty in Nature, in Art, and in Religion. What emotions are called into being by every scene of natural beauty! By the flowers, in their rich variety of hue, fragrance and form! By the sunset, in its rainbow tints of glory! By the landscape, with its mountains and plains, with its forests and fields, its lakes and its rivers! By old Ocean, that sweeps away as far as the eye can see; at times calm and placid, at others, its multitudinous waters in wild uproar; rising and sinking, commingling and separating, rolling, swelling, and breaking upon the rock-bound shore! presenting a scene of sublimity indescribable by human language! What emotions are called into life by every true work of art! By statuary, around which genius has poured the spirit of its inspiration! By painting, that heaves with life upon the canvas! By poetry, that has been inspired by the Muses! By music, whose notes come as gently to the soul as tones from harp by angel fingers swept! What feelings are awakened by the true spirit of devotion! Worship becomes wings to the soul, by which we rise into a higher and purer region, and, leaving behind us all that is worldly, we soar to the mount of Transfiguration, where our countenances become changed, as by the light of heaven! Our highest life does not consist in deadening our spiritual faculties, but

in quickening them. Everything without that is beautiful, touches with pleasurable emotion some secret spring in the soul. By their magic influence the whole circle of our emotions should at proper times be called into action. We have no conception, as yet, of the depth of our spiritual being. Those of us who have had the largest experience, who have taken the deepest soundings, know but little of that depth, of the height and glory of its possibilities.—[Rev. Bernard Peters.

Work is Victory.

I look on that man as happy, who, when there is question of success, looks into his work for a reply, not into the market, not into opinion, not into patronage. Men talk as if victory were something fortunate. Work is victory. Wherever work is done victory is obtained. There is no chance, and no blanks. You want but one verdict: if you have your own, you are secure of the rest. And yet, if witnesses are wanted, witnesses are near. There was never a man born so wise or good, but one or more companions came into the world with him, who delight in his faculty, and report it. I cannot see without awe, that no man thinks alone, and no man acts alone, but the divine assessors who come up with him into life,-now under one disguise, now under another,-like a police in citizens' dress, walk with him, step for step, through all the kingdom of time.-[Emerson.

Too Late!

If this Republic is now to be crippled and dwarfed through domestic treason, re-enforced by foreign intrigue, it will so suffer because of its scorn and hate of its black children, and its rejection of their willing service. Yet a little longer, and the web of aristocratic intrigue and despotic force will have been silently woven around us, and we shall wake to learn that we have France and Great Britain to fight and vanquish before we can put down the rebellion. Then the dilatory, dawdling, temporizing, Rebel-courting faction will awake to the magnitude and imminence of our peril, and will clamor for emancipation or anything else to save the Country. "Too Late" will be the stern response of Destiny. A death-bed repentance will not save n Nation which has for eighteen months stolidly and superciliously spurned its humble but devoted sons in the vain hope of soothing its deadly, implacable foes. In that day, we ask that it be remembered that it was easy, through taking time by the forclock, to crush the Rebellion and save the Union.

-[New York Tribune.

Truth is the soul of Wisdom .- [Beriah Green.

PROSPECTUS

OF THE

NEW REPUBLIC.

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

The New Republic has two leading and distinctive objects: First, by humble and modest, but earnest and thorough effort, to promote, to the fullest extent of its ability, that fraternity of feeling among all parties and classes of society, on which our salvation so vitally depends. Second, to discuss, in a free, untrammeled manner, but in no partizan, dogmatical or dictatorial spirit, all of those fundamental and practical questions and principles of Government and human rights which the adjustment of our National politics will involve.

Society is divided into three distinct and leading classes. The Radical Reformer, the Liberal Conservative, and the opponent of Progress. The tendencies of the times are toward a union of the first two classes. No radical reform or idea has been advocated, but has embodied an important, though possibly mixed and partial truth. The agitation of single reforms, has been useful mainly in the way of preparing the public mind for a comprehensive understanding and thorough adjustment of, the great political and social questions that lie at the basis of our National happiness and well-being. The law of extremes and equilibrium is a universal law. Extremisms in reform have been necessary to balance the opposite extreme of stationary conservatism. The illustration has been that of extremes; the tendency now is toward equilibrium.

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